
THE

Negro at the South.

LETTERS BY

GOV. W. J. NORTHEN.

ATLANTA, GA.:

THE FRANKLIN PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY.

1894.

CORRESPONDENCE.

NEW YORK, March 6, 1894.

His Excellency, The Hon. William J. Northen, Governor of Georgia:

DEAR SIR:—Allow me to invite your attention to the March Number of the *American Baptist Home Mission Monthly*, which is devoted to a discussion of the present condition, education and religious needs of the colored people of the South.

The American Baptist Home Mission Society, during the past thirty years, has spent nearly three millions of dollars in the improvement of the condition of the colored people, and is now carrying on an extensive educational work among them at an average yearly cost of about \$150,000.

The Society is prosecuting this work simply with a view to contributing towards the amelioration of the colored people, and the preparation of them for a better discharge of their individual religious and civic duties.

I shall be very glad to have from you an expression of your opinion as to the work done by us, and as to the view of the situation in the magazine which I send you.

Yours very truly,
T. J. MORGAN.

In reply to the foregoing communication, a letter was prepared and forwarded to Gen. Morgan, and for reasons, doubtless satisfactory to himself, he declined to publish it. Subsequently the following letter was received from the editor of the *Christian Register*, of Boston.

APRIL 16, 1894.

To His Excellency, the Governor of Georgia; Atlanta, Ga.:

MY DEAR SIR:—I send you herewith a marked copy of the *Christian Register* of April 12, containing an

article on "Lynching in the South," and also a resolution passed at a meeting in Liverpool on this subject. I should like to have, for publication, your views concerning the causes and remedy for this evil.

I have endeavored in the article, as elsewhere, to recognize the good work which leading men in the South have done in raising their voices against these outrages.

Yours very truly,
S. J. BARROWS.

The reply to this letter was promptly published in the *Register*.

As the correspondence in reply to these letters was intended to defend the civilization of the South against undue attacks made by religious papers at the North and East, it has been thought desirable to preserve the letters in more permanent form for general distribution.

ATLANTA, Ga., March 31, 1894.

Rev. T. J. Morgan, Corresponding Secretary, etc.:

I have your letter of recent date calling my attention to the March number of the *American Baptist Home Mission Monthly*, which is "devoted to a discussion of the present condition, education, and religious needs of the colored people of the South."

I note that you say further: "I shall be very glad to have from you an expression of your opinion as to the work done by us, and as to the view of the situation represented in the magazine which I send you."

I assume, of course, that you will publish my communication. For this I beg to thank you in advance, I desire, both as the Executive of this State and as the President of the Home Mission Board of the Southern

Baptist Convention, to express my appreciation of all proper efforts made by the organization you represent to christianize and elevate the negroes of the South; while I ask, also, the opportunity to correct some flagrant misrepresentations prominently set out in some of the communications about the people whom I have the honor, in part, to represent.

May I be allowed to say, at the outset, that in all discussions of "the condition, education, and religious needs of the colored people of the South," it should be kept steadily in mind that the white people of the South are not solely responsible for the presence of the negroes among them. The white people of the South are, therefore, not exclusively responsible for any condition that exists, either as to their "education or religious needs." The presence of the negroes at the South has imposed upon the people of the Southern States the solution of a problem never before submitted to civilization, in the solution of which we should have the sympathy, the co-operation, and the generous aid of all Christ-loving people. I desire again to say, that if your organization comes in with a proper Christian spirit to aid us in this great work, you will find the people of the South not only ready to co-operate with you, but prompt to give you hearty greeting and bid you God speed.

If, from your abundance, your organization has, with the proper spirit, contributed three millions of money in the last thirty years for the education and elevation of these people, you have done well, and I am pleased to give you credit to that extent for your good work. If, however, the State of Georgia, alone, from the poverty of its people, has furnished double that amount in half the time named, we have done far better, and it is but fair for your reports to say so. If you

did not know this fact, you ought to have made proper inquiry before you wrote at all.

I cannot ask sufficient space for an elaborate and comprehensive discussion, covering all the matters in dispute between us; but I will treat some of them in the order named by you.

Will you pardon me, at the beginning, for substituting the term "negroes" for "colored people?" This I prefer for two reasons. 1st, "colored people" is a misnomer; 2nd, a representative gathering of negroes in convention in this State, has by unanimous action, asked that they be known in future by the term distinguishing their race, and not by an expression indicating what they are not—"colored people." I prefer to accede to their wish, as I think their request a wise and proper one.

CONDITION.

In speaking of the condition of the negroes at the South, page 104 of your magazine, I find the following:

"The treatment of the colored people is cruelly unjust. There exists among the whites, almost universally, prejudice against them simply because of their race. The mere taint of colored blood dooms a man in the South whatever may be his excellence of character, his intelligence, his endowment, his culture, or his usefulness to society to hopeless inferiority. Not only is he excluded from all social intercourse whatever, but he is subjected to slights and indignities that constantly injure and wound him. At present, throughout almost the entire South, the colored people, although endowed by the Constitution of the United States with citizenship, are restrained from the very exercise of the ballot, and are excluded almost wholly from any active participation in government. Even in communities where they largely outnumber the whites they have almost no voice whatever in the matter of government, and are excluded from nearly all official positions. Negroes are lynched, and in some cases

brutally murdered for crimes against the whites; while the same crimes committed by white people against the colored people not only pass unavenged and unnoticed, but are looked upon as a matter of course, and even occasionally with positive favor. In a thousand ways the colored people suffer at the hands of the white people simply because they are colored. Their essential manhood is denied, their citizenship is disregarded, their claims for just treatment are often unheeded."

To establish the truth of these statements, you give "a case in point furnished by an event of recent occurrence," where "a white Christian, a teacher of theology in a Southern colored school was lately seized, stripped, and brutally beaten by white men for the only offense of teaching in colored schools and preaching to a colored congregation." The article then proceeds to denounce "the scoundrels who did it." This incident is given as a fair presentation of the condition of the negroes of the South. Had you observed that the place at which this outrage is said to have occurred is not named in the communication? Yet the people of the South must bear the shame of this loose and irresponsible statement, and then be characterized as "scoundrels" by a religious magazine.

Will you let me say that no such outrage is possible in Georgia, and it is not in accord with what should be the Christian spirit and Christian purpose of a religious magazine to publish such statements to the world without even locating them.

It may not be improper for me to say, in this connection, that I have just entertained at the Executive Mansion, Dr. D. C. Gilman, President of John S. Hopkins University, who is also President of the Slater Fund, and Dr. J. L. M. Curry, the Agent of this Fund, during their recent visit to this State in the interest of the education of the negroes. Together with our

State School Commissioner, I accompanied these gentlemen on a tour of inspection of the negro schools, and we had full and free conference with seventy-five or a hundred white teachers who are connected with negro schools. There was not the remotest mention of "brutal beating" or the apprehension of it.

I invited to the mansion to dine with these gentlemen some of the most distinguished residents of this city, among them, Colonel N. J. Hammond, at one time Representative in Congress from this district; Hon. Hoke Smith, present Secretary of the Interior; the President of our State University, the President of our School of Technology, and the presidents of our denominational colleges, and a number of other gentlemen equally distinguished. The sole purpose of this assemblage was the discussion of the better education of the negroes at the South.

In further rebuttal of your statement, may I say that last Sunday afternoon the President of the Methodist Theological Seminary of this city, established for the training of negroes, by invitation addressed the Young Men's Christian Association, and I did not hear of any threat or indication of "brutal beating."

One month ago I had in my pew at the First Baptist church, in this city, a learned and distinguished minister, who makes his home in Atlanta and preaches to the negroes throughout the State, under the joint employment of the Baptist State and Home Mission Boards. This minister is one of my warmest friends, and he has the esteem of every good man that knows him; and yet these very people who love him are published to the world in a religious magazine, edited by men who are paid to know and publish facts, as a lot of "scoundrels," who will not let a white man preach to "colored people!"

Now as to the other facts that pertain to "the condition."

The treatment of the colored people is "cruelly unjust." To sustain this statement, you say, first, "he is excluded from all social intercourse." In reply to this, I desire to say very plainly that the people of the South do not recognize the social equality of the races. They do not now and they never will. To do so would justify and induce miscegenation, and this latter necessarily begets amalgamation.

This is contrary to nature, and would of itself be sin.

You say further: "Throughout almost the entire South the 'colored people' are restrained from the very exercise of the ballot, and are excluded almost wholly from any active participation in government." You must pardon me if I cannot find a milder term, when I say that, so far as my State is concerned, this statement is absolutely false. In denial it may be sufficient to say that we always have from two to four negro representatives in our General Assembly, and the negroes in general elections deposit their ballots without interference or hindrance at any precinct where their white neighbors are allowed to vote.

You say "negroes are lynched." So they are in Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, and other States. If the authorities are using every means known to the law to prevent violence here, are we one whit behind your own State that cannot prevent murder, labor riots, and all kinds of violence?

When you say that crimes against negroes are looked upon with "positive favor," you do such gross violence to the truth that the statement is not worthy of a better feeling than disgust.

Are we the only people among the States who cannot suppress violence? Two days after your letter came to

me, the following press dispatch was given to the country:

A Northern outrage, this. Pennsylvania farmers drive negroes away at the muzzle of their guns.—Stroudsburg, March 9.—Armed with shot guns, twenty-five citizens of Tannerville marched to the camp of the colored men who were brought there a year ago to aid in constructing the new Wilkesbarre and Easton railroad, and ordered them to leave. They told the colored men their presence in the county was no longer to be tolerated and they must get out at once.

The attitude of the white men, whose shot guns made them appear like a dangerous invading army, aroused consternation among the colored men. They promised to leave the county if they were given the money to pay their railroad fare.

The colored men are almost destitute. They have no money, and scarcely enough food to subsist upon. They have been growing desperate. There is great excitement among the people who live near the camp. Men as well as women are afraid to leave their houses at night.

Farmers have great difficulty in preventing the negroes from stealing their chickens and live stock. A close watch has been maintained, but this has grown irksome.

Individual farmers were afraid to make complaint, and finally a general raid upon the camp was arranged. Although the colored men promised to leave, they are still in the camp tonight.

The following, you will observe, was only six days later:

Lynching in Pennsylvania.—An escaped murderer recaptured and hanged to a tree by a mob. Stroudsburg, March 15.—Richard Puryear, who murdered Christian Enelers near Tannerville about a month ago, escaped from jail here this morning. A large crowd gathered, and Puryear was caught in the Cherry Hollow woods. He fought desperately, but was overpowered and taken to Palmer's Island by the mob. A rope was obtained, and the murderer hanged to a tree until dead (by Pennsylvania scoundrels).

And again, seven days later, I found the following:

May be a lynching. A fight near Wilkesbarre, during which there was wild firing.—Wilkesbarre, Pa., March 22.—The series of murders and murderous assaults that have disgraced this country during the past week reached a climax to-night at Midvale, a village three miles from this city. Mike Bochrock, a Hungarian, became involved in a quarrel with John Shandow, a neighbor. Revolvers were drawn and a bloody fight ensued, in which Shandow shot Bochrock under the left nipple and fatally wounded him. After the shooting Shandow fled, firing right and left at the crowd which had collected.

The excitement in Midvale is intense at this writing (midnight) and the jail is closely guarded against a threatened attack. The many crimes committed by the Hungarians and Slavonic element in this vicinity have caused the greatest indignation, and threats are openly made that, if the criminals are not promptly punished, there will be a repetition of the Stroudsburg lynching in this county.

Not to confine ourselves to Pennsylvania, I give you a dispatch from your own State, sent out the same day as the one last given from Pennsylvania :

March 15th, 1894.—Readers of newspapers can not fail to notice the increasing number of murders, assaults, and robberies committed by negroes in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. It is bad enough in this city, but it is worse in Philadelphia. In that city during the present week negroes violently assaulted and robbed six ladies and girls on prominent business streets. It is believed that the tenderness of our courts in dealing with black criminals has encouraged them until they are now a terror to the white inhabitants in many localities. The misplaced sympathy of some judges and juries for these people is producing its results in the shape of a harvest of crime. It would be to the interest of both races to adopt a different policy.

Really it would seem that matters are growing serious in your section, and you may have to devote some of your money to taking care of the negroes at the North. Possibly this is

enough on the condition, at least for the North.

EDUCATION.

On page 89 you say : “As a matter of fact, they get the merest smattering of an education in two, three, or four months school, forgetting much of what they learned before another year’s session begins.”

“As a matter of fact,” the public schools in this State for the whites and blacks are exactly the same. “As a matter of fact,” no public school in this State is allowed to run for a shorter time than five months. “As a matter of fact,” the education of the negroes is not confined to the elementary branches; the State of Georgia has established a college at Savannah for the higher education of the negro, for which the General Assembly appropriates \$8,000 annually. “As a matter of fact,” teachers are prepared in this college and made fully competent to teach in any of the public schools in this section or yours, and they are prepared to serve their race as efficiently as the white teachers serve the white schools. Yet in the face of all this, you state, “as a matter of fact,” that “some who would go to uplift these people are compelled to turn away and leave them among wolves.” Let us see what the “wolves” are doing for the “colored people.”

The tax values of this State are returned at \$462,000,000. Of this amount, the negroes pay upon \$16,000,000. The State raises not quite one and a quarter million dollars for school purposes. Of this, the “scoundrels” and the “wolves” and the “colored people” pay their *pro rata*, the expenses being largely borne by the “scoundrels” and “wolves,” because of excess of property; and yet, “as a matter of fact,” the two races share and share alike.

Now, my brother, in the face of

these facts, do you think you have dealt fairly by the South when you publish us to the world as "scoundrels" and "wolves," looking upon lynch law with "positive favor," and brutally beating white men who preach to colored people?"

When I began this article I thought I would cover the entire ground of the inquiry contained in your letter, but I must desist.

You ask, page 85, "Must it ever be thus? Is there no remedy?"

Let us assume that all you have said is true, and answer your inquiry from your own point of view. Granting that the white people at the South are "scoundrels" and "wolves," I would suggest that the quickest way to uplift the negroes is to remove them from their dangerous surroundings. It is hardly possible to deport them to Africa. This would cost more money than the government is able to appropriate. It is equally impossible and not as desirable to settle them in some territory set apart for their exclusive occupancy. Furthermore, "they are endowed by the Constitution of the United States with citizenship," and we have not the right to transport them against their will to any given locality and confine them there. The thing to do to meet the views of your magazine, in my candid judgment, is to distribute these people throughout the States of the North, giving them opportunity to come in contact with the higher civilization of your section and the better educational advantages that your States can afford. This would give your people full opportunity to encourage social equality among the races and all the attendant results in miscegenation.

Let me suggest that you spend some of your annual appropriation taking the "colored people" unto yourselves, completely and entirely

away from the "scoundrels" and "wolves." This course will greatly reduce expenses and hasten the work you have undertaken.

I would be glad to give you my views upon the "religious needs" of these people, as discussed by you; but, to be candid, I think your magazine so far lacking in true religious spirit and purpose, that you are, in no sense, the proper person to attempt to meet the "religious needs" of these or any other people.

If you come South in the proper spirit, and to do Christian service to the negroes, all our people will meet you gladly and render you all possible aid.

If your magazine is fairly represented by the number sent to me, the sooner you withdraw from the Southern field the better it will be for the "condition, education, and religious needs of the 'colored people' of the South."

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

ATLANTA, GA., April 28, 1894.

Editor Christian Register, Boston,

Mass.:

I have before me your letter of recent date and a marked copy of your paper containing an editorial on "Lynchings in the South." I find in the same paper, also, a marked communication from Mr. Richard Armstrong, of Liverpool, containing a resolution passed by the members of Mr. Armstrong's church, together with his comments thereon, all based upon some statements made in a lecture in the presence of Mr. Armstrong and before his people by "Miss Ida B. Wells."

In your personal letter addressed to me, you say: "I send you, herewith, a marked copy of the *Christian Register* containing an editorial on "Lynchings at the South," and also a resolu-

tion passed at a meeting in Liverpool on this subject. I should like to have, for publication, your views concerning the cause and remedy for the evil."

Upon your invitation, I shall undertake to reply to the editorial and the article containing the resolution referred to, for two reasons, mainly: First, because it will afford me an opportunity to correct some false impressions about the people at the South; second, because I can fairly avail myself of an equal opportunity to give the North and the East some home things to think about and resolve upon.

This last I candidly think legitimately belongs in this discussion.

In order that I may not occupy unnecessary space by quotations, I will content myself with a limited but fair analysis of your statements, all based, as I understand, on "Lynchings at the South."

You say, first, "Fearful and barbaric atrocities are committed, from week to week, against the colored people at the South. The civilization of the South falls far below the standards of decency, order, toleration and justice which exist in some countries that make no claim to free government."

You say, second, "The clergy and journalists and educators of the South are acquiescing in a governmental policy which makes the Southern States a reproach to the civilized world."

Finally you say: "People will refuse to invest capital and to live in a country in which there is no adequate protection by law for life and property."

Now, Mr. Register, let me say, among all the ill-advised and cruel things said about the people of the South I think this the most severe.

May I ask upon what information you base your sweeping statements about the South? Do you write from your personal knowledge of our people,

or have you relied entirely upon "a pamphlet written by Mr. R. C. O. Benjamin, secretary of the Colored Lawyers' National Bar Association," from which you quote largely, and the lecture of "Miss Ida B. Wells, delivered in Liverpool before Mr. Armstrong's church," and upon which his resolution and communication are based? If this last is true, as is fair to infer, may I not be allowed to say, when you pronounce "the civilization of the Southern States a reproach to the civilized world," upon the testimony of two negroes, who do not live at the South, you do the South a cruel wrong which, in my candid judgment, you should hasten to repair.

May I not, in this connection, introduce the testimony of another negro, who has reputation among our people and who has himself stood upon the lecture platform? I give you his letter recently addressed to me:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Mar. 29, 1894.
To the Governor of Georgia, Atlanta, Georgia:

MY DEAR SIR—I am sorry to say that I recently learned through some of your representatives here that there were certain colored agents now going over your State persuading the colored people to go to Liberia, or to the western portions of this country—all of which I am opposed to, for certain reasons, to-wit: 1st. Because I have lived in the North twelve years. I discovered that the white people up North don't want the negro among them, after getting his vote to put themselves in office. 2d. I am the former body-servant of the late Robert Toombs, ex-United States Senator; and I have children in Georgia, and know from my extensive travels it is best for them to remain where they are, for to-day there is starvation all over the North among both white and colored laborers. My course of lectures will be—the South is the best place for the negro; and the time has come when he must unite with the white people of his section, by vote and otherwise, to build up what is best for the whole people; and to let

well enough alone and to be satisfied where they are.

(REV.) GARLAND H. WHITE.

In the opinion of this man, the "civilization" of the South is good enough for his people, and why not? Negroes have far better opportunities to maintain themselves at the South than at the North and East. Have you observed that negroes are being put out of the barber shops in your section? They have alternate chairs with white men in the shop where my hair cutting is done. Have you observed that, with you, negroes and white men never lay brick on the same building? At the South negroes and white men dip mortar from the same bed and carry brick to the same scaffold. Just across the street from my study I now see a white man sawing on one end of a scantling and a negro sawing at the other. Do you see any such sights in Boston? A few years ago when the negro was a "fad" in the North, many of your wealthy people secured them as coachmen for their splendid equipages. Do you see any of them as such in your section now? The negro "holds the reins" at the South for our very best people. Why this difference in the sections? Surely this is not the reason why "the civilization of the South is a reproach to the world."

But I find I am not discussing "Lynchings at the South."

If you will pardon me, however, just a little farther, I would be glad to have your readers consider some facts recently furnished me by Rt. Rev. C. C. Penick, of Baltimore, further considering the relations of the races in the two sections.

Comparing the States of Georgia and New York, Bishop Penick furnishes me this written statement:

"Georgia—Population, total, 1,837,353; white, 978,357; negro, 858,815. Prisoners, white, 342; 1 to every 2,860 whites; negroes, 2,596; 1 to every 330 negroes.

Homicides, white, 57; 1 to every 17,104 whites; negroes, 290; 1 to every 2,961 negroes.

New York—Population, total, 5,997,853; white, 5,923,952; negroes, 70,092. Prisoners, total, 11,468; white, 10,745; 1 to every 550; negroes, 701; 1 to every 100. Homicides, whites, 410; 1 to every 14,473; negroes, 58; 1 to every 1,208."

The Bishop then says: "There is no disputing the truth that the negro is either twice as bad North as he is South, or that the South is twice as lenient with his badness. Be it either way, the North has no right to throw stones southward in this matter. The South, too, is paying \$5,250,000 a year to educate the negro, and is also bearing the burden of their poor. Run a line from Delaware to the northern point of Texas, and in the country southeast of that line we have one negro to two whites. In all the rest of the country the proportion is one negro to every fifty-eight whites. That is the way we are bearing our share of this burden, and yet our two whites make their one negro twice as good as their fifty-eight whites make their one negro."

I have given you, in this statement, from a most reliable source, a fine argument for the civilization of a people who you say are "a reproach to the world."

We have lawlessness at the South just as you have lawlessness at the North. We have murders in Atlanta just as you have murders in Boston. Sometimes negroes are lynched at the South just as they are lynched at the North. Did you ever hear of a labor riot in Georgia or at the South? I never did, and I have lived here all my life—more than fifty years. Labor riots occur "from week to week" among our brethren north of the dividing line.

Take one since your letter came to me. Indeed, I call your attention to the fact that I will give you no instance of lawlessness except those of recent date:

Detroit, Mich., April 18.—Wayne county's sheriff lies in a precarious condition to-night, his body lacerated

by the shovels of enraged rioters. Two Polish laborers are dead, and the number injured is not yet definitely known. These unfortunate circumstances are the result of a conflict which occurred at noon to-day between some 400 Poles and Sheriff Collins and five of his deputies. The riot was brought about by differences of opinion over wages to be paid laborers by the city water commissioners for digging trenches for pipe laying in Grossepoint township, just east of the city limits.

It is true this was not a lynching at the South, but the result was two dead and eleven wounded Poles.

Lynchings and riots are equally in defiance of the law, but it is worthy of remark that in lynching only one man is murderously killed in defiance of law. At Detroit we have two dead, and possibly eleven others who will die.

In one of the leading papers of your section, of the 22d inst., I find the following head-lines to a press dispatch :

FIR ED ON THE MOB.

Hungarian Socialists are Wounded by the Police--Finally the People Were Trampled by the Horses of the Hussars--One Man Will Die.

It is true this man was a Hungarian and not a negro, but you never did hear of any such scenes as this at the South, with either Hungarians or Poles or negroes. I am sure I never did, and yet the South is said to be a "reproach to the civilized world."

Here is another press dispatch that came in the papers of this date, addressed to the President of the United States :

"As governor of Montana, I hereby request you to have federal troops at Fort Keogh to intercept, take into custody, arrest and hold these Coxeyites, subject to the orders of the United States court issuing the writ referred to. If the Coxeyites pass Fort Keogh before orders can emanate from you for

their apprehension, I request that federal troops be ordered to overtake them. Promptness is required.

"G. E. RICKARDT,
"Governor of Montana."

To show that this lawlessness at the North means revolution and blood let me call your attention to the following interview with Coxey just given out.

"If the police arrest yourself and army, what then?"

"Let them dare," snapped the general, his eyes flashing.

"Will you desist from encouraging other industrial armies from storming the capital?"

"On the contrary, I shall redouble my efforts to bring every unemployed man, woman and child to Washington."

"Will not the fear of possible bloodshed deter you?"

"I do not court a resort to arms, but we will demand our rights, even if it takes physical strength to prevail. I shall not commit myself to that, but will repeat my declaration to bring congress to terms by besieging Washington until justice is done."

"What if the unemployed starve in the streets of Washington?"

"The stench from their ashes will force congressional relief."

"Is that intended in all seriousness?"

"Certainly. Matters will be carried to that extent if necessary."

Had you observed, in this defiance of law and marching against the general government, that there are now on the road thirteen distinct armies and not one of them from the South?

Have we fallen so far behind the advance guard that "the civilization of the South is a reproach to the world?"

The following dispatch indicates that these lawless mobs came dangerously near to your own home :

THE NEW ENGLANDERS FARE BADLY.

Boston, Mass., April 22—Pandemonium raged on the common to-day; pandemonium that ran dangerously near the verge of full-fledged riot. During its height, the New England delegation of the industrial army made its escape from the midst of 50,000 ex-

cited men and started for Rosebery. This was not, however, until their banner had been torn to fragments and several of them pretty severely handled. Speeches were interrupted by hisses, drowned in catcalls and blotted out of existence with dreisive cheers.

I have never been to Boston, and therefore know nothing of the civilization of your people, except what I hear from others.

I will not, therefore, harshly criticise your civilization, but it does appear to me that this riot comes dangerously near the standard of civilization spoken about in your editorial.

As there never was a riot in my State in all its history, tell me, are not the lives and the property of the people greatly endangered at such times as you have just experienced in Boston?

If "Mr. R. C. O. Benjamin and Miss Ida B. Wells" had witnessed this lawlessness, the one might get ready sale for another pamphlet and the other might pick stray quarters from sympathetic Englishmen by another pathetic lecture.

I am, however, again reminded that the subject of this discussion is "Lynchings at the South," as portrayed by "Mr. R. C. O. Benjamin" and "Miss Ida B. Wells."

Before I get directly to the subject, will you pardon me, again, for a little further indulgence and allow me to discuss "Lynchings at the North" just a moment, as portrayed by the press dispatches and not by interested parties. I will promise to confine myself to "lynchings of negroes" and I again remind you that I will confine myself to such outrages as have occurred since your letter was received. I will begin with Ohio. There have been two lynchings in Ohio within the past four months, but only one of them has occurred since your editorial was written. Your attention is respectfully called to the following:

A NEGRO LYNCHED ON THE SABBATH.

A Fiendish Assault by a Negro Ex-Convict on an Old Woman in Ohio.

A MOB CAPTURED THE BRUTE.

Last Night the Wretch was Dragged to a Tree, a Mock Trial Held, and the Culprit Hanged Until Life was Extinct.

Cleveland, O., April 15.—Speedy justice was meted out to a colored rape fiend at Rushsylvania, a small place near Bellefontaine to-night. The wretch was Seymour Newland, and his victim was Mrs. Jane Knowles, a respectable white woman, 81 years of age.

She was terribly injured by the fiend. When alone in her house last night, Newland entered and without a word assaulted her. She was awakened by the noise he made in coming into the bedroom. She attempted to scream and the negro brutally slapped his hands across her mouth and forced her back on her pillow. She fought desperately, but her feeble strength was soon exhausted. He abused her in the most fiendish manner and left her in a pitiable condition. After he had gone she dragged herself to a neighbor's house and aroused the inmates. She told the story in a few broken sentences and then sank helplessly at their feet. Without loss of time other folks were aroused. The news of the assault traveled like wildfire, and in a short time nearly the entire populace of the village was acquainted with the story and the search for Newland was begun.

The mob caught Newland a few miles from town and messengers were at once dispatched for a rope to hang him with. While waiting for the rope, Sheriff Sullivan arrived on the scene, and after considerable difficulty induced the excited citizens to turn the cowering wretch over to him. Newland was taken to the lockup, a little plain shell, and a strong guard placed outside. The excitement became so intense that the sheriff called for the militia from Bellefontaine. A company quickly arrived and formed a hollow square around the flimsy prison. The sight of the soldiers seemed to enrage the mob around the vicinity. Loud threats of an attack were made by them. In some manner

one of the mob had succeeded in placing several dynamite bombs beneath the cell in which the negro was locked, the object being to blow him up. The arrival of the militia prevented the success of this plan. The fact that the bombs were there was disclosed to the sheriff and he removed them. Finally, yielding to the entreaties of the people, he ordered the militia to withdraw and local guards replaced the armed force.

The crowd was just in the mood for a lynching. About 9:30 there gathered around the frame structure a large mob. The guards offered no resistance after being pushed aside. The building was overturned with rails gathered from neighboring fences. Ready hands were laid on Newland, who howled with terror and fought savagely. He was knocked down and a rope placed about his neck. Then with wild yells the mob dragged him over the ground to a small cottonwood tree some distance away. One end was thrown over a limb and the wretch was raised by the neck until he stood erect. A jury was drawn and a mock trial commenced, but it was abruptly terminated, as the mob was too impatient to wait. The doomed negro kept up an incessant groaning and appeal for mercy, and was stopped when with a sudden jerk he was sent skyward. There he was held until dead.

Newland was an ex-convict, and had once before been found guilty of rape.

Mrs. Knowles, Newland's victim, is in a critical condition and is not expected to live.

If this had occurred in Georgia it would have been a "fearful and barbaric atrocity."

Referring to this Ohio "atrocity," may I call your attention to the comment of the *Nation*, published in New York, as follows:

"For the second time within six months a negro has been lynched by a white mob in Ohio. Gov. McKinley expresses deep regret, but says that he can do nothing about it. In the previous case he wrote letters to those whose business it was to investigate the matter, and the judge gave sharp instructions to the jury, 'but nothing came of it.' One thing, however, has come. The Republican newspapers of Ohio have read fewer lectures to the South on the proper treatment of the negro during the past six months than used to be their habit."

Suppose we take one from Kansas. This also occurred since your editorial was written as you will see by reference to the date of the dispatch.

A NEGRO LYNCHED.

He Murdered a Miner by the Name of Haman.

Cherokee, Kan., April 23.—Frank Haman, a coal miner, living with his family near the Schwab mines, two miles west of here, is dead at his house, half a mile east of the mines, at the hands of some colored Alabama coal-miners, and the leader of the murderers has been lynched. Last night the colored men came to Haman's house for the purpose of robbery. Haman ran out to get help, but was shot in the throat. He ran about one hundred and fifty yards and fell, where he was found an hour later. Jeff Tuggle, a colored miner, was charged with the murder. He was caught at Weir City to-day and brought to Cherokee. A few minutes later Mrs. Haman, the dead man's wife, accompanied by a score or two of miners, arrived, and when the woman was taken before the prisoner she identified him instantly as one of the robbers. Before officers could get Tuggle away a mob captured him. They marched him with a rope around his neck about a half of a mile northwest of the town and hanged him to a cottonwood tree.

Greatly augmented in numbers, the angry miners then took up the hunt for the other two. It is reported that another has been captured and spirited away to a place of safety, and the news comes that another is surrounded about three miles south of Pittsburg, and will be lynched as soon as captured.

The whole affair has assumed an ugly aspect, as the miners are already excited over the strike situation."

It would seem that the Alabama negroes had better stay at home if they want protection.

A later dispatch from Pittsburg, Kansas, says:

"Greatly augmented in numbers, the angry miners then took up the hunt for the other two. It is reported that another has been captured and spirited away to a place of safety, and the news comes that another is surrounded about

three miles south of Pittsburg, and will be lynched as soon as captured.

The whole affair has assumed an ugly aspect, as the miners are already excited over the strike situation."

It may be argued that these lynchings did not occur in Massachusetts or the East; neither did they occur at the South.

Did you read those brutal beatings of negroes in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and the recent lynching of the Hungarian at Stroudsburg? If these facts should all come to the notice of "Mr. R. C. O. Benjamin and Miss Ida B. Wells" they might have a large increase of pin money if they could induce anybody to believe their statements.

Let me give them the facts in the New Jersey matter. I will furnish the others if they desire them.

On the night of March 1st, two negroes entered the home of Moore Baker, a well-to-do young farmer living at Franklin Park, N. J., for purposes of robbery. Finding they were in danger of discovery, they concluded to make way with the members of the family. Entering the family room, they slew Baker's wife and babe with axes as they lay by his side. He grappled with the murderers and succeeded in killing them both.

This awful crime naturally aroused the neighborhood to a fearful extent, and according to a press dispatch published a few weeks latter, a Law and Order League was organized and practically every negro driven out of the community. The feeling was distinctly racial, the indignation of all the whites having been aroused against all the blacks by the crime of the two negroes against a white family.

"Mr. R. C. O. Benjamin and Miss Ida B. Wells" can get full particulars of this "barbaric atrocity" against a whole settlement of innocent negroes if they will examine the eastern papers

of the date named. They ought to have this case.

I could give you manymore such instances but as they do not bear upon "lynching negroes at the South," I must forbear and proceed to discuss the first part of the second proposition of the agreed analysis of your editorial which is as follows:

"The clergy and journalists and educators of the South are acquiescing in a governmental policy which makes the Southern States a reproach to the world."

Soon after I came into office a negro was lynched in Georgia. I promptly offered a reward of two hundred dollars each, for the arrest and delivery to the proper officer of the parties to this mob. Every daily paper in the State wrote strong editorials indorsing my action and called upon the people to stand by the majesty of the law and demand a trial by jury for any and all men charged with crime.

When you come to Atlanta, call at my office and I will show you letters on file, from the judges of our superior courts and county sheriffs in this State, promising to support my policy and demanding the maintainance of the law against mob violence and lynching. I will present you also, if the edition is not exhausted, an admirable essay read by the Chief Justice of our supreme court before the State Bar Association inveighing against mob violence and lynching and upholding the majesty of the law.

This ought to be enough to satisfy you that in Georgia all "the clergy and journalists and educators" are pronounced against labor riots, and industrial armies, socialistic upheavels, lynchings, and everything else you have at the North that would make "the South a reproach to the world."

Now understand me, I do not say negroes are not sometimes lynched at the South, but I do insist that "people

who live in glass houses ought, at least to be careful how they throw stones."

But to your last proposition:

"People will refuse to invest capital and to live in a country in which there is no adequate protection by law for life and property."

You will find that you ought to have asked me about these matters before you wrote your editorial, based upon "a pamphlet by Mr. R. C. O. Benjamin."

From the statements already made, you are satisfied that the officers of our courts are all right upon the matter in question; that the public sentiment made by our newspapers will sustain the courts; "that the clergy, the journalists and the educators of the South are not a reproach to the world;" now you only need to know what is the law against lynching to see whether it is "adequate protection for life and property." I give it to you in full, passed without a dissenting vote by the General Assembly of this State:

AN ACT, No. 347.

To prevent mob violence in this State; to prescribe a punishment for the same; to provide a means for carrying this Act into effect; to punish a failure to comply with its requirements, and for other purposes.

SECTION I. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Georgia, That from and after the passage of this Act, whenever any officer of this State, charged with the duty of preserving the peace and executing the lawful warrants of the State, has knowledge of any violence attempted to be perpetrated upon any citizen of this State by mob violence and without due authority of law, it shall be the duty of every such officer to summon to his assistance, either in writing or verbally, when necessary, any of the citizens of the neighborhood or county, whose duty it shall be to prevent such mob violence, if in their power to prevent it, and they shall use every means in their power to prevent such mob violence.

It shall be the duty of the sheriff or

other officer charged with this duty, and of the posse summoned as aforesaid, to the end of suppressing a riot or preventing mob violence, to arrest the persons engaged in the same and place them in the common jail of the county or other place of safety, to be dealt with as the law directs; and any person so engaged in mobbing or lynching any citizen of this State, without due process of law, shall be guilty of a felony, and, on conviction thereof, be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for a term of not less than one nor longer than twenty years; and should death result from such mob violence, then the person or persons causing said death shall be subject to indictment and trial for the offence of murder under existing laws.

SEC. II. Be it further enacted, That any sheriff or other arresting officer having knowledge of a meeting or assembling together of any citizen or citizens of this State for the purposes set forth in section 1 of this Act, and fails to attempt, in good faith, to suppress the same, either by himself or by summoning a posse, as prescribed in section 1 of this Act, such sheriff or other arresting officer, so failing to perform his duty as aforesaid, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and, on conviction, be punished as prescribed in section 4310 of the Code of 1882.

SEC. III. Be it further enacted, That any person summoned, as aforesaid, who shall fail or refuse to respond to the officer's summons and assist in suppressing any mob violence being committed, or about to be committed, as aforesaid, unless such person is physically unable to respond, such persons so refusing to respond and assist such officer in good faith shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and, on conviction, be punished as prescribed in section 4310 of the Code.

SEC. IV. Be it further enacted, That whenever any citizen of this State shall be summoned, as aforesaid, it shall be the duty of the officer so summoning to notify such person, or persons, to bring with them such fire-arms or other weapons as are necessary to be used in suppressing such mob violence. And it shall be the duty of such persons to respond promptly, with such arms or weapons as he or they may be able to procure; and the arresting officer or his posse may, if the exigency of the case require, in order to prevent human life from being taken by mob

violence, take the life of any person or persons attempting mob violence in order to prevent it, provided life shall not be taken unless it be necessary to save the life or lives of the person or persons being mobbed, or to protect the lives of such arresting officer or his posse.

SEC. V. Be it further enacted, That all laws and parts of laws in conflict with this act be, and the same are, hereby repealed.

I commend this law to Massachusetts. If it had been in force during the recent effort to mob the Coxeyites, the women and children of Boston would not have been in so much danger of slaughter.

Since the law in this State is all right, and the newspapers and public sentiment, together with the "clergy, the journalists and the educators" all sustain the law, and all the courts say (as I will show you when you come to my office) that they will enforce this law, the only remaining condition necessary to a perfect "civilization" is to know how the executive officer of the State stands.

Will you please now consider the following letter addressed to every sheriff in this State, when I sent to them copies of the law just quoted to you?

STATE OF GEORGIA,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
ATLANTA, GA., December 19, 1893.

Hon. Sheriff:

MY DEAR SIR—I inclose you herewith copy of bill introduced by Hon. Warner Hill, passed unanimously by the recent General Assembly, and approved this day.

I send you the bill thus early that you may, at once, know its provisions and that I may apprise you of the authority given you in the act as well as the responsibility now put upon you to preserve the peace and honor of the State.

The General Assembly, by unanimous action, has pronounced death by mob violence murder, and declared that all citizens who become parties thereto are subject to indictment and trial under such charge.

You will observe, further, that the act not only authorizes you to summon to your aid any and all the citizens of your county, in your efforts to suppress mob violence and lawlessness, but it very properly pronounces failure to respond on the part of such citizens so summoned a misdemeanor, and upon conviction they will be duly punished under the law.

I can hardly believe that any officer of the law in this State will so far fail in duty as to deserve the punishment prescribed in section 2 of this act, yet I am candid to say that I suggested and I am, therefore, responsible for this enactment, as I desired to make it absolutely certain that another case of mob violence should never be possible in this State.

The act, therefore, compels both the citizen and the officer to discharge their duties under penalty of the law.

The honor of the State, as far as your jurisdiction extends, is now in your hands, and I shall watch with great interest the outcome of this new legislation.

Your strong letter, received some months ago, assuring me of your determined purpose to aid in suppressing lawlessness has had much to do with the passage of this bill, and I am constrained to believe you will do your whole duty and that mob law in Georgia is now at an end.

W. J. NORTHEN, Governor.

Now, Mr Editor, I challenge the North to furnish from its statutes and from the machinery of its courts and from the record of its governors, any more "adequate protection by law for life and property," so far as lynching negroes, or mobbing Poles or riotously murdering Hungarians is concerned, than I have given you for my State.

On the face of all you have said about the "civilization" of the South, I demand that you make the search among the statutes of the States at the North, and publish my people to your readers, again, as a "reproach to the world" if our record on the law and the courts is not the best in the Union. Let us hear what you can find at the North or the East that surpasses us in law to suppress mob violence that mur-

ders Poles or Hungarians or negroes. I shall await your disclosures with interest.

If you can find nothing, you cannot do better than devote your entire paper during your natural life to advertising, at least, my State as having the most "adequate protection by law for life and property" in the Union, and therefore the best State in America "to invest capital and to live in."

This much you owe to the people of Georgia, that you may repair the fearful wrong your editorial has done this State.

Such terrific arraignment as you have made of the people at the South should have more foundation in fact than the statements in "a pamphlet by Mr. R. C. O. Benjamin," or the wild harangues of "Miss Ida B. Wells."

In all Christian kindness (for I have tried to write in the best of humor) will you tell me why the people of the South are so cruelly misrepresented by people who have never been among them?

Why does not "Miss Ida B. Wells" lecture in Mr. Armstrong's church upon "Lynchings at Cherokee, Kansas; Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania; Rushsylvania, Ohio and other outrages at the North?" Why is not the lawlessness of these States "a reproach to the civilized world?" Will you please tell me? Why should the reputation and honor of our people rest upon the bare statements of "Mr. R. C. O. Benjamin and Miss Ida B. Wells?" Why are we denounced as outlaws for being guilty of only one crime, when the States of the North are equally guilty of the same crime, and, in addition, riotous with the blood of many other villainies absolutely unknown to the people at the South?

Let me say in all kindness, when these questions are satisfactorily answered I will write an article for the Northern press on "Lynchings at the South—the Causes and the Remedy for the Evil."

W. J. NORTHEN.

